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Bermen's Speach

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- 1. Polich foreign policy, directed by the PFR, has proved a good one. It has been consistent, independent of the Anglo-Saxons, and based on ties with the USSR. Poland will live in friendship with the USSR, in peace with the Slav nations, and it will try to maintain proper relations with the Anglo-Saxons if they do not attack the vital interests of a democratic Poland.
- 2. Poland must be grateful to the USSR for its promised support of our justified claims to frontiers on the Odra and Meisse rivers. The USSR's attitude and the heroism and sacrifices of the Polish nation are the arguments which will bring favorable settlement of our western frontier problem. The stern, manly attitude of the Polish nation in defense of its frontiers has opened inglo-Sawon eyes to the fact that Poland is no longer a good child which can be put in a corner when it does not obey its mighty protectors in decisions which are often contrary to its our interests. This beaten and obedient child has become ill-mannered, stubborn, and disabedient whenever its interests are involved. Its attitude is more persuasive to the Anglo-Saxons than constant submission to their demands.
- 3. Poland's decided attitude during elections made an excellent impression in Mancow. It underlined the Polish Government's complete independence of the Foreign Office, which tried to dictate to Poland. The great Stalin expressed the opinion that Poland was quite right in ignoring the Angle-Saxon notes designed to alease her and limit her sovereignty.
- 4. The PFR considers a final, documented solution of our mostern frontiers as our most important problem. Adjustment of these frontiers not only involves compensation for territories given to the USSR and the righting of historic energy, but constitutes a condition for European peace and a means for normalizing USSR—Anglo-Saxon relations. An Anglo-Saxon solution to our western frontier problem, forced against the will of Poland and all Slav nations, would deny us our historic and moral rights, and cancel the economic investment we have made in the disputed area. The area would become a seething center of danger.

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- 5. Poland has an opportunity to grow in importance and dignity; it can become an active and dynamic state, politically and economically powerful among the nations of Europe. It can achieve this only through "the sympathetic and united attitude of the Polish Nation, which is morally backing the Democratic camp."
- 6. When we analyze and evaluate the present political lines of PPR, PSL, and the Underground it seems imperative that a political bloc be created: a FPF bloc which would become a great, homogeneous political camp; a crystallizing center embracing the entire Polish left wing and the majority of the nation; a camp which would have decisive ascendancy over all other political factions, and could give the Government backing and support. In proceeding with this concept, the PPR must consider the following factors, which are the essence of national life:
 - (a) Fighly developed nationalism and supersensitivity regarding sovereignty.
 - (b) Deep-rooted rights of the Catholic Church.
 - (c) Progressive tendencies of the working and peasant masses.
 - (d) Dislike for the temporary and a yearning for stability.
 - (e) A tendency to eliminate inter-party founds, consolidate the citizenry, and remove all Soviet, Russian Polish, and Jewish elements from government positions.
 - (f) The conflicting efforts of reactionary and revolutionary factions to control the tenets of the younger generation.
 - (g) The "negative" attitude of the masses toward the PPR—an attitude currently being overcome.
 - (h) The ill-will and lack of confidence manifested toward the PFR by members of independence movements, particularly of the ex-AK (Home Army).
 - The opposition of the PSL and WRO.
- 7. The Amnesty Act is a friendly gesture toward all our political opponents, a pardon for their sins. Its primary sim is to reveal the Underground, thus stepping conspiracies and cutting out the cancerous growth which is poisoning the Fation's healthy body. Should the amnesty fail in its primary objective, a second aim will be achieved: security authorities will be provided with sufficient cluss to identify Underground leaders. If the Underground does not dissolve itself, we will destroy it ruthlessly and permanently.
- 8. The continual growth and partial separation of anti-Mikolajczyk factions in the PSL will eventually break up its political staffs. Peasants will be attracted to the PFR and the SL. After PSL's elimination, we will hold communal elections in which the population will be free to choose representatives put forward by the official democratic parties. Following normalization of domestic and international conditions, we will dissolve the Sejm (Parliament) and hold elections. Newly elected members will be acceptable at home and abroad because they will be elected in accordance with democratic principles.
- 9. A constantly increasing number of citizens are joining the democratic comp. This movement toward us includes old opponents who enjoy the nation's confidence.

 Psychological opposition will weaken, then eventually break, creating a basis for true consolidation.

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